

and perhaps assimilate, the negro; though you can't truly assimilate it—it's still there. It is there in Walter White's face, in his flat nose, his round head, his slightly kinky hair, his slightly thick lips and his colored skin.

Those are things we can see. We don't know what happens to the brain of man, but we do know that the negro's brain pan seals and hardens quicker than the white man's. We do know the negro has, in certain instances, elliptical blood cells, which cause disease. We do know that his skull is one-eighth inch thicker, and we do know he has to have two determiners to have his kinky black hair. We don't know what it takes to make his mind different from our mind.

This Supreme Court seeks to set aside all the laws of eugenics and biology! By simply putting these children together in schools we will abolish all these racial differences that God made. I have a little field back of my home, a very small one. I noticed the blackbirds come, and they stay together. Right in the City of Brookhaven I had a covey of quail. They finally fled because of new houses. I noticed they stayed together. They were all birds. I noticed the geese and the ducks, each after his own kind, and yet, that Supreme Court would set aside these basic laws of God and of nature and compel these various individuals to come together just as you would blackbirds and green heads, or partridges.

You can't change the chromosomes of an individual by a law. You can't create an additional gene to determine the texture and the quality of the skin hair. These things God does, and whenever man begins to tamper and to try to reform and revise (yes, and this goes for the atomic bomb, too), these laws, he destroys himself.

I have tried to speak calmly and unemotionally. I could have adopted a much different approach; I could have had you, I believe, cheering at odd moments; but this is not the time to cheer—this is the time, as you've said, to pray. This is the time to be as deliberate and cautious and careful and as right as we know how. I realize that a violent upheaval at this time would probably deter (though it might not) the Supreme Court in handing down its "when and how" decision. But that would only be a pyrrhic victory. We can't do it with force and arms—we have got to do it with right, and we have got to do it with intellect and justice.

And, just as this meeting opened with a prayer, I think it is proper that it should close with a prayer, and so I devoutly say, "God give us the wisdom to know what's right, and the courage and strength to do it."

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PASS IT ON TO SOMEONE ELSE.

A REVIEW OF

BLACK MONDAY

By JUDGE TOM P. BRADY
of the

Fourteenth Circuit Court District
Brookhaven, Miss.

*In An Address Made To The
Indianola Citizens' Council*

October 28th, 1954

LITHO LAWRENCE GREENWOOD 85768 L

Brady, Thomas P. 1954. A Review of Black Monday.
Winona MS: Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi.

JUDGE BRADY'S ADDRESS

I feel very flattered that the men and women of the Delta, where for generations you have produced some of the ablest and the best statesmen that Mississippi has ever known, came to the hills and invited me here.

I think that this problem which we face in the South, and which is all important to us, is but a small section of the overall checkerboard. In dealing with our problem, I think it is wise that we should remember always that the national problems, the problems which tend to undermine or destroy this government, are in the last analysis, just as fundamental to the preservation of our way of life actually as the problem of segregation or integration of the races. I think before a man should make up his mind as to the solution of a problem, he should know all that he can about it. I have been asked to review briefly the book, "Black Monday," because it states, as I see it, the major portions of the integral parts of this problem.

But, I want to go beyond "Black Monday" if I may in the time allotted me, and discuss frankly with you some of the basic problems which gave rise to the segregation question, and which have given rise to a great many other of our problems which are national in their scope.

Lord Byron said: "The best of prophets of the future is the past." And, the past which we can comprehend and understand is known, and it speaks eloquently though it is past, though it is dead.

We know that in prehistoric times there arose the Vertebrates. This insurgence took place, I believe, in about the Pliocene epoch of the Cenozoic era. I don't want to be pedantic and I don't want to be too detailed, and I'm only going to say here tonight that which I think is absolutely fundamental for us to comprehend, understand and proclaim if we are to succeed in the solution of this problem.

Man was the last to be created. Archaeologists, anthropologists and scientists have studied and labored for years to give us these facts. Dr. Breasted, in his book, "The Conquest of Civilization," has laid down to my mind the most forceable and the most accurate concept which man, as yet, has been able to get with reference to the various species of the different races which are on this earth. We know that a man was created in the great northwest quadrant, which embodied all of Europe west of the

Ural Mountains, which went parallel with the 60th meridian down into the Indian Ocean, embodying Persia, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Palestine, Phoenicia and those adjacent countries; we know that that was the home of the white race, Homo Caucasius, a fair-skinned, rather tall, for the most part erect, human being. Africa north of the Sahara was his southernmost boundary. He extended into Lybia and into Nubia. To the east of the Urals, and in the secluded plateaus of high Asia we find, and we know there existed, another man. He was round skulled, practically beardless; his skin was yellow, his hair straight and wiry, Homo Mongoloideus, the yellow man.

And, we know, separated from these two great races, one in the northwest quadrant, and the yellow man to the east of it, we know that south of there, bounded by the impassable Sahara Desert, on the north, and on the west by unconquered seas, lay the teeming black men of Africa. They were black skinned, long headed, and their hair was kinky. Now, we know that for generations those races developed along their own cultural lines. But, there was in the white man something which made him go beyond his boundaries; he was not content. He had the imagination, the incentive, the energy and the drive, and he proceeded to expand and spread, and he went down and he conquered and captured the black man.

These migrations and the ebbing and flowing of these various races took place. A part of this trek went into Egypt, and there, below the first cataract, along the Nile there, these white men went and lived, and for 35 dynasties they controlled Egypt. The civilization of Egypt was a white civilization. Cleopatra was a white woman. It was only in the 26th dynasty, when Taharka went upon the throne that the gradual seepage of the negroid blood into the white blood, which had come from the northwest quadrant, became complete. The white men built the pyramids, the beautiful architectural Temple of Karnak and the sphinx. Those men built there, and today with all the stone-cutting equipment, electrical and steam, which we have and the quarries of Abyssinnia, it is doubtful whether we could erect here one-third of the pyramids which they erected.

They had a high concept of God. It's true Isis and Osiris are far removed from Christ, but there was a mind of brilliant intellect that had developed a high civilization and a code of morals it didn't have to apologize for.

About the same time that this white trek began, the yellow man likewise had that incentive, and urge, and drive, this God-given spark which distinguishes men from brutes.

You are familiar with Genghis Khan, the Ming and the Chu and the other dynasties. You are familiar with their arts. Lao-tze, Buddha and Confucius came and they gave to those yellow men a satisfying concept of the divine, and an extremely high sense of morals, laws and values. And, although these races started at approximately the same time, in God's calendar, all the time this was going on, what was happening south of the Sahara? Some of the whites trickled through and laid the foundation for the brown negroes. They captured them as slaves and this mongrelization of Egypt took place, and Egypt fell. The same thing happened in India. The pre-Aryans came in and were swallowed up, but subsequent to that, the Aryan invasion came, and they were white men. They, too, captured and enslaved the negro. This negroid blood flowed into them.

You can rest assured that the persons who built the temple at Gwalior, the persons who constructed the Taj Mahal, the persons who wrote the Vedas, who created and believed and worshipped Brahma, the Essenes of India, where Christ was supposed to have spent His sixteenth through His thirtieth year, were white men. But the constant trickle went on, and on, and on, black blood flowing into white blood.

It is very doubtful whether the varnas, which is listed in the Vedas, was original with India; it probably came from Babylon. But, finally in their desperation to prevent the integration with the black, of the white men, they injected into their religion the four varnas, or the four colors. And the white men became the untouchables and they were the ruling class.

Nehru, the other day, laughed and said, "We have no race problem in India; we have always had white slaves." That is only recently. White slaves came after the integration had taken place, and now the vines and the jungle crawl over that civilization and those palaces and that civilization which India had, and which it enjoyed, just as Egypt is swallowed up in ignorance, superstition and poverty. The black teeming semi-barbaric masses of India have swallowed the white man.

We don't have to stay there. We can come to America, and you have the same thing repeated with the Mayas on a high plateau between Mex-

ico and Peru, with the Incas, the Toltecs. Yes, we know they were white men. We know by land bridges, by hurricane-driven dugouts that this migration took place. We know they were amalgamated with negroids.

It isn't strange or incomprehensible to me that if God can raise a negro up in Africa, He can raise a negro up in South America. If He can create a white man in the northwest quadrant, He can create a white man on the high plateau of old Mexico. But, what happened? The same thing happened there, and, wherever the white race has mingled its blood with the negroid (and I am not here as an exponent of race superiority—I am merely telling you facts). You don't have to take my word for it; those of you who have been in Central America and seen the Caribs, they are almost aborigines. Those of you who have been in Haiti, Puerto Rico, and Cuba; those of you who have been to Spain and to Italy, wherever you see this integration and this comingling, you see this resultant deterioration. It is the same old story. The jungle, the black blood swallows up, and with it goes this deterioration. It blows out the light within a white man's brain.

That is neither right nor wrong; they are simple facts, stern facts. Well, is that a long way from the segregation problem? Not so far. History has a way of repeating itself.

Rome came along and tried just what Egypt and India had done. Spain came along and tried the same thing, and Spain is reduced to an organ grinder, some monasteries, and some grapes and wine. It couldn't be just a coincidence; it couldn't be an accident—the deterioration and the destruction of these races took place subsequent to the amalgamation, with the amalgamation, with the negroid blood in it, and it is there for any student of history to read and know.

In 1620, on the sands of Jamestown, a slave boat landed. There were about 137 slaves in it. Prince Henry, the navigator, had declined to permit those slaves to be brought into Holland, and so they brought them over here. That day should be the "Thanksgiving Day" of the negroes of America. And they should set that day aside with some fitting memorial, because there was conferred upon that segment of the black race, the greatest favor that one human being could confer upon another. He was brought from abject ignorance, primitive savagery, and placed in a country that was Christian and civilized.

Historians bemoan the fact, and I am not here to argue that slavery is right because we know that slavery is wrong and we know that any nation that has enslaved another nation has had to pay a terrific price, just as any human being who enslaves or mistreats another must pay a terrific price. God's law of retribution is as immutable as God's law of gravity. And, Russia is building for herself a tremendous price to pay, and so are these other totalitarians and Communistic nations in their mistreatment of human beings. 1620—that's when the seed was planted on the shores of the Atlantic at Jamestown. That seed has now grown into a tree and is bearing fruit today. That is the trouble which faces us now. Of course, they were considered just a little better than a good saddle horse—we know it—a little under, perhaps, a good hunting dog. They were savages, the Congo flowed deep in their brains. They had no such thing as a code of ethics or morals. They were abysmal savages. Just a few months before, they had sharpened their teeth with rocks so that they could more easily tear human flesh; they were cannibals. Although the yellow and the white man had laid cannibalism aside thousands of years before, the black man still adhered to it. And, although the yellow and white man had a concept of God and man's relationship to God and had developed these fine religions (eight of which are still alive today and eight of which are serving and benefiting white and yellow races and the brown races of this earth), the black man had evolved nothing except a rudimentary nature worship, a fear of lightning, worship of the sun and evil spirits. No concept of a Divine Being beyond that which may have been held by a Neanderthal man.

We revolted from England. We revolted, that's right. The American Revolution was as much an honorable revolution as the Civil War—that was another revolution. The sons of those who had revolted against England revolted again against coercion and mistreatment, so they felt here.

In the Civil War, yes—they were the instigating cause of that; from 1860-1864, the South fought, bled and died for a cause. A cause that was lost.

I am not here to criticize or to blame anyone. Abuse and criticism are the tools of the clumsy and the frustrated and the desperate. But, we know that the slave traders of New England took rum to the west coast of Africa,

and they traded rum to those negroes there, who in turn sold their own brothers into slavery. And, we know they brought them back here, and we know they tried to utilize them in the north and the east, but the cold climate and the negroes' susceptibility to most diseases and his primitive ignorance, made him worthless except as an item of merchandise. But, in Virginia, Georgia, and the South, he could work in the fields where the temperature and the climate was mild.

They bought and sold us all they could get. This went on until about 1847, I believe, until finally it was outlawed, England being the last nation to outlaw slavery.

Now, I ask you from an ethical standpoint and a moral standpoint, who is to blame? The man who captured the negro, who brought him here, who enslaved him, and who sold him, or the man who purchased him and worked him and provided and took care of him?

So when we begin to criticize and find fault, let's be sure we know what is and what is not right, and who is, and who is not, responsible.

The Civil War laid the foundations for our problem today, too, just as the landing on Jamestown did. The North was victorious, the negro was freed. The Thirteenth and the Fifteenth Amendments, which freed the negro and which granted him universal suffrage, didn't disturb a single human being in the South—no body paid any attention to it. They passed, and the Southern states passed them. But, when the Fourteenth Amendment came, the one which is bothering us today, it was loaded with dynamite. Men met all over the South, just like we are meeting tonight, men and women, and they asked themselves the same questions we are asking ourselves, "What shall we do?" They had asked themselves that question before, and they said, "Before we will submit to this tyranny, before we will permit them to take our property which they sold to us (and they made no effort to reimburse the Southerners), we will divorce and separate, we will secede and form a country of our own."

There was only one state that voted in the South for the Fourteenth Amendment, for its passage, and that was Tennessee. Tennessee was pretty much under the heel of a Republican and always had a Republican element in it anyhow, but the Amendment was rejected. It was fairly submitted, a three-fourths majority being required, and it was rejected, and that should have ended the matter, but it didn't. An infuriated Republican Congress immediately enacted these

various statutes which put us under military rule. Mississippi was under military rule for almost four years. Then the Carpetbaggers and the troops came down and they took care of it; the white men were not permitted to vote. The Scalawags in the South (there are always Scalawags), the Carpetbaggers, the Northern troops, and the negroes voted in the Fourteenth Amendment. It was illegally done, and therefore, the Fourteenth Amendment has never had any moral effect in the South because our fathers knew it was illegal, and their fathers knew it. We know it.

General Coleman has told me recently, and I have grounds to believe that he is correct about it, that he is trying to make a diligent search to prove that even under the coercion and that military government, when the people of the South were disfranchised, Congress lacked the sufficient number of votes, and fraud was perpetrated, and the Congressional Reports and the records will show it. Actually there was not a sufficient number of votes to have made that amendment valid.

I am not naive enough to think that today, as this country now exists, that the Fourteenth Amendment will be abolished. There may be a day when that Amendment can be abolished or amended, or ratified in some way so that states, sovereign states composed of people who have made that state, and whose fathers and mothers made that state, will not be forced, as you are forced tonight, to come here, to look in one another's faces and ask yourself that awful question, "What shall we do? What can we do?"

Immediately after the enactment of that 14th Amendment, you know what happened. The Force Bills of 1870, the Anti Ku Klux Klan Act, the Anti-Segregation Act of 1875—these things are not new. History is again repeating itself, ladies and gentlemen. The only difference in us now and our revered grandparents is that we will not secede; we have throughout this country something that is fine and grand, and that is the realization that "I am an American. And, as an American, I will work my problems out."

It was rough, and the heel of the conqueror was placed on the neck of the vanquished, on those who came back, and it was just as thorough and devastating as Sherman's March to the Sea. In spite of every obstacle in the world, the genius, the courage, the intelligence and the character of the white people of the South has saved itself. And we have gone along since 1875 in peace and harmony.

[8]

There was a case, however, decided—the Cruikshank Case—which is of utmost importance, and every Southerner should know about that case. A man by the name of Cruikshank, and others, broke up a political meeting held in Louisiana by a group of negroes. Shortly after the Reconstruction Period, the Carpetbag era, Cruikshank, and others, were indicted in the Federal Court and convicted, and the case was appealed to the United States Supreme Court. That Supreme Court held, in the Cruikshank case, in 1876 (I'll tell you this now because in my opinion the next move of this United States Supreme Court is going to be to set aside the rule of law established in the Cruikshank Case in 1876—this applies to you people here tonight, it applies to me, it applies to any individual, or any group of individuals within any state in this union), *that Congress of itself, by the enactment of this law (Ku Klux Act of 1871, the Civil Rights Act of 1875—and it was under the Enforcement Act of 1870 that Cruikshank was indicted, tried and convicted) derived no power from the 14th Amendment to legislate in respect to the acts of individual persons; that the restriction of the 14th Amendment ran only against the action by the states.*

That decision in the Cruikshank Case saved the South, and it saved this nation, because it permitted the states of this Union to adjudicate the rights of its own respective citizens, and denied the Federal Government the right to come in, as is done in Russia, and was done in Fascist Italy, in Nazi Germany and these other states, to come in and regulate and control the lives of the citizens of the respective states. That Supreme Court realized that the states of this union produced the union for the benefit of the states, and the union was not created by the states for its own welfare. And so I say to you tonight, whether you know it or not, every man and woman in this room who is opposed to this decision of May 17, and the interference of the Federal Government into the sacred rights of a state to educate its children, is a States' Rights man.

You are holding that it is within the province, and particularly and solely within the province of the state, to regulate the life and condition of its citizens. The education of its youth is the most sacred and the most solemn responsibility which a state can have. And, any interference with it by any power whatsoever is death to the sacred principle of States' Rights.

[9]

We talk of segregation today, but let's not forget that during Truman's administration there were four issues, Anti-Poll Tax, Anti-Lynch, the Anti-Segregation issue, and the FEPC.

We are facing today just one of those issues—the other three are just in the offing. They will come unless the people of these United States realize that this thing is not a haphazard plan, that it has been in the process of being made and created for 40 or 50 years, just as the Fabian Socialists in England started, and 32 years later, converted a great nation into a second rate power. So these forces are operating today in the United States. We lived in complete harmony for a period of 80 years after the Cruikshank case. Of course, other cases came: Plessey vs. Ferguson, the Virginia Case. In that case, a negress was denied the right to ride in equal but segregated area. That Supreme Court held that that also is within the province of the State. The State has a right to regulate the actions and the conduct of its individuals. If the people of that State want that, there is nothing unconstitutional about it, and that was the case; that was the camel that the Supreme Court had to swallow when it handed down the decision on May 17.

Repeatedly, after that they have held, and in the Gong Lum Case just a short period ago, when there were men on the Supreme Court like Van Devanter, Brandeis, Justices Stone, Butler, Holmes, Taft and the others, they held that the rule was the same, the rule laid down in Plessey vs. Ferguson to be a good rule.

It's true that the state owes all of its citizens a solemn duty. That same rule was laid down in the Cruikshank Case. The very highest duty of the states, when they entered into the union under the Constitution, was to protect all persons within their boundaries in the enjoyment of these inalienable rights. And the Supreme Court held in the Plessey Case that just as long as that train had the same sort of seats, the same sort of accommodations, ran over the same rails, was a part of the same train pulled by the same engine, had the same sort of lights and drinking water, as long as the accommodations were equal, that the rule of being separate did not deny anybody equal protection under our law. There was no discrimination!

What has happened? What is it in this interim of time, a period of about 60 years, that the Supreme Court has divorced itself from Plessey vs. Ferguson. How in just twenty-seven years, has reversed itself in the Gong Lum case?

What caused it? If we can find out why this happened and what caused it, we may be able then to prevent future inroads into the States' Rights principle, the principle upon which our government was founded by the 13 separate sovereign states.

I can tell you some of the things. In 1936, there was a large migration of the negroes north. They went to cities such as Pittsburgh, Detroit, New York, Akron, Philadelphia and Chicago; the far westward trek had not started, and there in these northern states, by simply becoming 21 years of age, they obtained the ballot. There was organized in 1936 in New York City, an organization known as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. We know now from whence this association has derived a lot of its power. We know now who poured the money into its coffers; we know now who has abetted and encouraged the association. I have but to read you the names of the 87 organizations listed by the FBI and the Committee on Un-American Activities to give you the name of these Communist-front organizations. It is from their ranks that this help has come. I wouldn't make such a statement if I were not sure of it.

We know there has been a working together on it. We know also that the CIO and the Communist-front labor organizations have likewise cooperated with it, and we know that the CIO, Sidney Hillman Group, gave to this association \$75,000.00 to have them fight these four cases from Kansas, Delaware, Virginia and South Carolina.

In 1936 this thing started. Walter White himself says "for 50 years we have been working in this direction." How long have we been working in our direction? Not 50 days. Fifty years ago they set their goals and their sights, some of which we don't even know today, but we believe today that one of those goals and sights is integration of the white and negro race in the South. We know that.

In 1936 the negroes had always voted Republican, but there was a quick shift, a quick change, and labor and the NAACP switched to the Democratic party and they elected Roosevelt, and they kept Roosevelt there. His brain trusters, all of his group, planned that which has come to be. In was in his regime that he told Governor Johnson down at Hattiesburg, at Camp Shelby, "I am coming back after this war is over, and we are going to take the book down from the shelves, Paul, and finish writing that

chapter." And Governor Johnson asked him, "What book?" and he said, "The negroes' book."

People don't do something for politicians and not expect something in return, as a rule. And, what they wanted, what they demanded, and what they got was the Civil Rights bills and the propaganda brought forth in Roosevelt's administration and re-enacted during Truman's. We know the fight that the Mississippians and these other Southern men made opposing the Anti-Poll Tax, Anti-Segregation, Anti-Lynching and the FEPC.

If that FEPC had been enacted and enlarged today, the South would not have any economic weapon whatsoever with which to defend itself. If the Anti-Segregation Bill had been passed, we would be approximately where we are now, and I think perhaps we would be better off, because at any rate we would have an Act of Congress and not an act of the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court would not have usurped the powers of Congress. It would not have usurped the seats of our Representatives and our Senators here, which it has done.

Briefly, and roughly, that is the picture. In passing I should say this, that this assault that is being made on the American mind is terrific. We know that the Communist organizations, and we know that Russia itself dreamed at one time of setting up a "Black Empire," of disfranchising the white man. And, we know that they worked along these lines for a long time, until finally they were told to quit, and they quit either because of the economic superiority of the white man, or the loyalty of the negro, or a combination of both.

What is the next best thing they could get? An integration of these races. To let us have in the South what has happened in these other countries—in Spain, in Egypt, India and everywhere. I am not a great anthropologist, but we know the physical differences exist just as Abraham Lincoln said, "I do not believe, and never will believe, that the white and the black races should intermarry; there are physical differences which forbid it, and it is not in God's plan that they should do it." And Abraham Lincoln did more for the negro, for his freedom and advancement here than any human being who has ever lived, but you needn't tell the Supreme Court that.

Any lawyer, you can ask any able lawyer, and he will tell you that there is no precedent whatsoever for that decision of May 17. It's as erroneous as the 14th Amendment was illegal; we know that. It's based on sociology and psy-

chology, on the social sciences and not on the principle of *stare decisis*, not on the decisions and the laws of this country.

We have a sociological Supreme Court. In lieu of laws we are now going to have theories, sociological and psychological concepts to guide us. That is next to having a rule by men, and whenever any country sets aside government by law and adopts government by men, that government dies. History will teach us, and has taught us, that this is a certain way to destruction.

Well, we come to the question: What are we going to do? I have spoken and taken a stand on it, and wrote "Black Monday." If we don't use our heads, if we get frantic and excited, this could be our Gettysburg also.

I am so glad that the true South has gone slowly, judiciously and calmly. I regret to see that our sister state, Maryland, is in the toils of this ordeal, and I regret to see that they are becoming somewhat violent and excited. They are turning desperately any way for relief. They will lose, because their Governor doesn't believe there is anything morally wrong with the abolition of segregation, and in my opinion, if necessary, he will use force to put a stop to it. That will happen also in other states where the people are divided, where they have conflicting, divergent thoughts, beliefs, desires and dreams; where they are not united and sure in their cause, and where they have in their cause any element that would make them at any time ashamed; where they could not at all times speak out and say: "This is where I stand, and I shall not change from it, and this stand which I have taken is a just and righteous stand, and it is within the confines of the Federal Constitution and the Constitution of the State of Mississippi, and its statutes." When we take a stand thus, we won't have to apologize or be afraid or frantic. We can ride out any storm.

I think that we should have (and I use these words for lack of better) a National Federation of Sovereign States. I think the people of Mississippi should do what you are doing tonight, as your Council has done in 36 counties. And, I would like to say this with reference to the Council: There was a farmer one time and he had six sons; he gave each a stick; he bound the sticks together; he handed that bundle to all the sons and none could break it. But when he took those sticks apart, they snapped those sticks over their knees with ease. If we are not bound together today in Mississippi, they will snap us over their knees. It is very easy to pass judg-

ment upon a man or upon a movement. It's easy to condemn. None of you men look like Ku Kluxers to me. I wouldn't join a Ku Klux—I didn't join it—because they hid their faces; because they did things that you and I wouldn't approve of. I am not going to find fault with a man who did. Every man looks at the proposition not in the same way. In this proposition there is one essential point on which we must be uniform: we must act within the bounds of our Constitution and not in violation of our laws. If and when this Federation of States is formed, call it what you will, when Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, Florida, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Virginia and South Carolina; when the men of those states get together and say, "We have the intelligence and the courage and the character to solve these problems if we will work together, if we keep this thing a legal, a lawful and a fine thing." We will have a powerful force for good which cannot be denied. The sovereign rights of these states will remain secure and inviolate. There can be no federation of states unless the states organize. Each state must organize; each state and each county thereof. If we do not organize, we are lost, because never before in the history of the South has there been a more direct order to organize than is now given to us. White Americans of the South, unite! And, so I say to you tonight, members of this Citizens' Council, when each citizen in every Council can solemnly and sincerely vow that he will uphold the Constitution of this State and its laws, and that he will at the same time pledge his life, his fortune, and his sacred honor that segregation shall not be destroyed in Mississippi, when they take those oaths and mean them, it will not be destroyed.

I tell you that in our religious and in our educational field we have men who are drugged with the lotus of Socialism. Some of them are outright Communists, and when they go into our schools and teach our boys Socialism, they are undermining this country. When they affiliate with the NAACP, or any other organization which tends to socialize, upset and destroy this country, they are helping Russia. Russia wants to put Jew against Gentile. She wants to put Protestant against Catholic. She wants to have the white and the black man fighting at each other. Everywhere she plays race against race—anything that will cause dissension, discord and trouble, that is what Russia wants.

You and I know that the NAACP has been sponsored and fostered by these left-wing Liberals (I will call them that), these Marxian Christians in our churches, and these Neo-Socialists, teachers and preachers in our schools. It is just that serious, and if the people of the South do not now make up their minds that this is a mortal combat, that it is to the bitter end; that he will sell his car, his radio, his television, his refrigerator; he will sell anything and give anything because he has the God-given right to keep his blood white and pure, the battle will soon be lost. If God in His infinite wisdom had wanted a Mongrelized, mixed man, that man would have been on this earth. He would not have been separated into the northwest quadrant, over in Asia and below the trackless Sahara; if God had wanted these races of men to be mixed, they would have been created mixed. No Socialist preacher can deny this.

I don't like statements when I hear that the Councils are going to pit Jew against Catholic. It might interest you to know that 4000 years before Christ,

the Jew was fighting for the preservation of his white blood. It might interest you to know (and I have no particular brief for the Jew, I merely state facts) that he was enslaved at the time the Egyptian was. The negro has no monopoly on slavery. The Jew was enslaved 4000 years, and the Egyptian also, before the negro knew what slavery was. And for 4000 years, in spite of his slavery and mistreatment, the Jewish race, above all, has kept its blood pure. And it was from the Jewish race that Jesus Christ came. I don't like to hear someone say that the Citizens' Councils are against Jews and Catholics, because to me the Citizens' Council typifies the finest and the best intelligence, the best law-abiding group, the most courageous, the most honest. And unless we keep and pitch our battle on a high plane, and unless we keep our ranks free from the demagogue, the renegade, the lawless and the violent, we will be branded as we should be branded, a fearful, underground, lawless organization. I think a man should understand an organization; I think he should inspect its roster, should check its Constitution and its laws and find out the type of men who are in it, and the type of people who want to work with it and support it before we damn it.

No one knows what the outcome is going to be; no one knows who the next Supreme Court Judge is going to be. It could be Thurgood Marshall; it could be Attorney Brownell—we don't know, but it doesn't make any difference who the attorney general is, and it doesn't make any difference whether it is a negro or a white man. If the people of Mississippi will just do their duty, and you know what I mean. Though he only pays 5 per cent. or 6 per cent. of the school tax, still he is a human being. Where we have mistreated him, we should admit it. Where we can rectify that wrong that we have done him, we should do it. I realize, and you do too, that the NAACP and these Liberal left-wing groups are laughing with glee because they realize that we are going to be staggering under a terrific debt.

They realize that South Carolina spent \$175,000,000 and perfectly equalized their schools. The records in the case before the Supreme Court, the oral arguments as well as the briefs, substantiated that they are absolutely equal, and we realize that, yet that Supreme Court says, "You have got to sit a negro boy down by a white girl to have it equal."

Still, with that in our face, it is our duty to give to these negro boys and girls, in good conscience, what we can and what they are entitled to.

The thing is serious. I don't like to hear men say, "Oh, it can't happen. It's too much of a job. The burden is too great. We can teach them this, that and the other." You can't do it! You can't put little boys and little girls together—negroes and whites, and have them sing together, play together, dance together, and eat together out of the same pail, sit side by side, and walk arm in arm, and expect for the sensitivity of those white children not to be broken down. You can't do it. The old adage of "First we pity, then we pardon, then we embrace," applies. Why? Because that is exactly what has happened in the north.

Four per cent., we will say, in Kansas; 7 per cent., we will say, in New York; 8 per cent., we will say, in Illinois—that's nothing compared to what we have. They have a sufficient number of whites to absorb,